

Message Text

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ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 PRS-01 SSO-00 /019 R

DRAFTED BY PA/M:MDROKEY:MDR
APPROVED BY PA/M:CWFREEMAN, JR.
S/S-O:LMACFARLANE
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
PA, S/S, S/PRS

-----162034Z 025261 /44

O 161842Z MAY 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

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FOR CARTER--SECRETARY'S PARTY--FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT JOSEPH KRAFT COLUMN OP-ED PAGE WASHINGTON POST SUNDAY MAY 15 HEADED "SUMMIT LESSONS FOR SOVIET DEALING".
2. PRESIDENT CARTER ACHIEVED A SOCKO SUCCESS AT THE LONDON SUMMIT BY THE CLASSIC DEVICE OF GIVING TO GET. IN RETURN FOR A GRATIFYING SHOW OF HARMONY WITH ALLIED LEADERS, HE LAID OFF THE HOT PACE HE HAD EARLIER SET ON HUMAN RIGHTS, ECONOMIC GROWTH AND NONPROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.
3. BUT THE ALLIES, INTRINSICALLY WEAK AND HEAVILY DEPENDENT UPON AMERICA, HAD NOWHERE ELSE TO GO. SO THE TRUE TEST OF THE CARTER DIPLOMACY IS WHETHER THE ADMINISTRATION CAN APPLY

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THE LESSONS OF THE LONDON SUMMIT TO THE MUCH TOUGHER PROBLEM OF DEALING WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

4. THE MAIN BUSINESS WITH RUSSIA NOW CENTERS ON THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, WHICH ARE DUE TO BE RESUMED THIS THURSDAY WHEN SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS VANCE MEETS FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI GROMYKO IN GENEVA. THE TALKS WERE

SET BACK LAST MONTH BY TWO ALTERNATE PROPOSALS THAT MR. VANCE PRESENTED IN MOSCOW AMIDST A BLARE OF PUBLICITY.

5. ONE PROPOSAL ACCEPTED THE BASIC GUIDELINES LAID DOWN AT THE 1974 SUMMIT IN VLADIVOSTOK (2,400 DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR EACH COUNTRY, OF WHICH 1,320 COULD HAVE MULTIPLE WARHEADS) WHILE DEFERRING ACCORDS ON TWO IMPORTANT WEAPONS SYSTEMS THAT CAME INTO THE TALKS AFTER VLADIVOSTOK: THIS COUNTRY'S CRUISE-MISSILE PROGRAM AND RUSSIA'S BACKFIRE BOMBER. THE OTHER PROPOSAL CALLED FOR DEEP CUTS IN THE VLADIVOSTOK NUMBERS (DOWN TO 2,000 DELIVERY SYSTEMS AND 1,100 MULTIPLE WARHEADS) PLUS LIMITATIONS ON TESTING AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEW AND MORE MODERN WEAPONS.

6. THE RUSSIANS DISLIKED THE DEFERRAL PROPOSAL BECAUSE IT LET THE CRUISE MISSILE RUN FREE. THEY OBJECTED TO THE DEEP-CUT PROPOSAL BECAUSE IT WOULD HAVE OBLIGED THEM TO DESTROY LARGE STOCKS OF WEAPONS IN EXISTENCE WHILE THE U.S. WOULD ONLY FOREGO DEVELOPING WEAPONS ON THE DRAWING BOARDS. MOSCOW REGARDED THE PUBLICITY AS A PRESSURE TACTIC AND REJECTED BOTH OFFERS.

7. IN ACTING TO GET THE TALKS MOVING AGAIN, THE PUBLICITY PROVED AN EMBARRASSMENT TO WASHINGTON. DISCLOSURE OF THE DETAILED ORIGINAL PROPOSALS GAVE HAWKISH OPPONENTS OF ARMS CONTROL IN THE PENTAGON AND THE CONGRESS BENCHMARKS AGAINST WHICH TO MEASURE ANY CHANGES. THE HAWKS HAVE BEEN DENOUNCING ALL FRESH IDEAS AS MUNICH-STYLE SELLOUTS AND ASCRIBING THE CHANGES TO THE "EVIL" INFLUENCE OF THEIR FAVORITE WHIPPING BOY, DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATOR PAUL WARNKE.
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8. IN THESE CONDITIONS, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN PREPARING FOR GENEVA WITH GREAT SECRECY. BUT THE GENERAL LINES OF WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING SEEM CLEAR.

9. BOTH WHITE HOUSE AIDES AND SECRETARY OF DEFENSE HAROLD BROWN HAVE INTIMATED THAT THE DEEP-CUT PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN SHELVED FOR NOW. MAJORITY WHIP ALAN CRANSTON HAS TALKED ABOUT A "VLADIVOSTOK-PLUS" APPROACH. THAT SUGGESTS SLIGHT CUTS IN THE VLADIVOSTOK NUMBERS--PERHAPS TO SOMETHING BELOW THE 2,300 DELIVERY VEHICLES THAT THE SOVIET LEADER, LEONID BREZHNEV, SAID WAS ACCEPTABLE WHEN HE MET WITH HENRY KISSINGER IN JANUARY 1976.

10. IN ADDITION THERE WOULD PROBABLY BE SOME KIND OF CONSTRAINTS ON DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRUISE MISSILE AND THE BACKFIRE BOMBER. BEFORE TAKING OFF FOR GENEVA PREPARATORY TO THE VANCE-GROMYKO MEETING, WARNKE DECLARED A NEW ACCORD MIGHT HAVE TO INCLUDE "ON-SITE INSPECTION". PRESUMABLY THE

REASON FOR THAT KIND OF INSPECTION WOULD BE TO DETERMINE WHETHER ACCORDS LIMITING THE RANGE OF CRUISE MISSILES WERE BEING OBSERVED.

11. ON THE RUSSIAN SIDE THERE HAS ALSO BEEN MOVEMENT. AMBASSADOR ANATOLIY DOBRYNIN, AFTER A SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH AMERICAN OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON, HAS TAKEN OFF FOR MOSCOW, WHERE SESSIONS AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS ARE BEING HELD TO DEVELOP THE SOVIET POSITION AT GENEVA. RUSSIAN ACADEMICS, SUPPOSEDLY CLOSE TO THE KREMLIN, RECENTLY TOLD WILLIAM BEECHER OF THE BOSTON GLOBE THAT THEY COULD ENVISION FLEXIBILITY ON SUCH ISSUES AS SLIGHT CUTS IN THE VLADIVOSTOK NUMBERS, CONSTRAINTS ON CRUISE AND BACKFIRE, AND VERIFICATION. GROMYKO HAS ASKED THAT FOUR DAYS BE SET ASIDE FOR THE GENEVA MEETINGS--A LONG TIME IF NOTHING IS EXPECTED.

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12. EVEN IF CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IS MADE AT GENEVA, THE WORD MAY NOT GET OUT IMMEDIATELY. NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW CAN AFFORD TO BE SEEN TURNING AROUND SO QUICKLY ON SUCH SENSITIVE ISSUES. BUT THE OUTLOOK IS UNDOUBTEDLY FAIR. AS HE SHOWED IN LONDON, CARTER HAS LEARNED THE LESSON THAT INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS CANNOT BE A PRODUCT MADE ONLY IN AMERICA.

END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, POLICIES, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 16-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE111890
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: MDROKEY:MDR
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770173-0679
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770552/aaaabssm.tel
Line Count: 148
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 734cbe92-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN PA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2501974
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESS MATERIAL
TAGS: SOPN, OVIP, UR, US, WASHINGTON POST, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (KRAFT, JOSEPH)
To: GENEVA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/734cbe92-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009